



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

the impoverished populations of the world, swallowing up their resources and retarding their restoration after the ravages of the war," and the Conference urges all of the groups, before the meeting of the second Assembly, to lead their governments to insist upon this recommendation and to support it with stronger resolutions. It invites them to exercise an unfailing vigilance, to the end that their respective governments may conform to it.

6. It directs the Interparliamentary Bureau to transmit these resolutions to the League of Nations with the request that they be communicated to the Assembly as well as to all of the governments there represented.

VI.

The Nineteenth Interparliamentary Conference, after having heard the report of Mr. Treub on the international economic and financial problem and the League of Nations, agrees to institute an Interparliamentary Economic and Financial Committee, which shall be entrusted with the study of the problems raised in the report and of related questions, and which shall be asked to submit reports at later conferences. Each group shall be invited to nominate one member of this committee. The Executive Committee of the Union shall nominate a drafting committee of three from among the members of the whole committee in order to prepare its work through the elaboration of questionnaires and the like.

VII.

The Nineteenth Interparliamentary Conference welcomes with satisfaction the fact that the Covenant of the League of Nations has recognized the principle of compulsory investigation and mediation in all disputes which are not submitted to judicial decision. It takes leave to call the attention of the Council of the Assembly of the League of Nations to the importance of a non-political organization being created for this object. Without pronouncing any opinion as to the form to be given to this organization, it directs the Bureau to transmit the proposal and the report laid before the present Conference by Professor Schücking to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

VIII.

(Submitted by the Right Honorable Thomas Lough, of Great Britain)

The Nineteenth Interparliamentary Conference expresses the opinion that the present requirements relative to viséing passports ought to be immediately limited to the requirements of the international police, and that all expenses and restrictions with regard to the procuring or exhibiting of passports by travelers should be reduced to the strictest minimum.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

Any interested in the history of the Interparliamentary Union are referred to:

1. *Histoire documentaire de l'Union interparlementaire*. I. Conférences de 1888 and 1889. By Chr. L. Lange, 120 pages, octavo.
2. *La Conférence interparlementaire*, a monthly review published by Albert Gobat, 1893-1897.
3. Reports of the various conferences.
4. *The Interparliamentary Union, its work and its organization*, second edition, in French and in English, 1921. Address Interparliamentary Bureau, 2 Chemin de la Tour de Champel, Geneva, Switzerland.—The Editor.

THE TWENTY-FIRST UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS AT LUXEMBURG*

August 10, 11, 12, 13, 1921

The *Bureau International de la Paix*, with headquarters at Berne, Switzerland, was before the war an effective clearing-house of the peace societies of Europe. In 1902, its executive officer, Dr. Albert Gobat, shared with E. Dumcom-mun the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1910, during his régime as "Director," the International Peace Bureau itself received the Nobel Peace Prize. The International Peace Bureau, which was organized at the third International Peace Congress, at Rome, in the month of November, 1891, became thereafter the moving spirit behind the International Peace Congresses held between the years 1891 and 1913 at Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Budapest, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, Rouen and Havre, Boston, Lucerne, Milan, Munich, London, Stockholm, Geneva, and The Hague, respectively. Practically all of these were largely attended from among the ranks of the leading peace workers of the world. Their influence, notwithstanding their unofficial character, was considerable.

To one who had been at previous congresses, this at Luxembourg seemed relatively insignificant. There were less than one hundred delegates in attendance. Evidently little attention had been given to the program of the Conference, and, aside from a brief address to a limited number by an under-official of the Luxembourg Government, no attention was paid to the gathering on the part of the local officials or of the people of the city. The inescapable impression was that the peace movement, so familiar to us all before the war, has been hard hit. True, some of the old peace workers were present. Beside the President of the Bureau, Senator Henri la Fontaine, of Belgium, there were such men as Dr. L. Quidde, of Munich; Louis Favre, of Geneva; H. von Gerlach, of Berlin; M. Emile Arnaud, of Luzarches; M. Lucien Le Foyer, of Paris; F. E. Pollard, F. Maddison, and Rev. H. Dunnico, of England; Edward de Neufville, of Frankfort, and Henri Golay, the General Secretary of the Bureau, of Berne, Switzerland. During the Conference there were five meetings of the Council, one meeting of the General Assembly, four plenary meetings of the Conference, besides the meetings of the various committees.

The permanent committee appointed last year at the meeting of the General Assembly at Basel submitted two reports, one with reference to the activity of the central office at Berne and the other with reference to the financial situation, both of which aroused no little discussion.

The proposal that a branch of the central office be opened at Geneva, and that the General Secretary, Mr. Golay, be authorized to serve in the capacity of corresponding secretary, particularly for the purpose of correlating the League of Nations and the newly established office of the Union of the Associations for the League of Nations in Brussels, was disapproved. The final vote upon this matter showed that the majority of the delegates are opposed to uniting the International Peace Bureau with the League of Nations, on the ground that the aims of the two organizations are not

* A summary of the notes taken by the Editor of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, who, in his capacity as a member of the Council of the Bureau International de la Paix, was in attendance upon the sessions of the Conference.

identical. The probabilities are, however, that this matter will be brought up again.

The argument was at times heated. There was no little criticism of the management of the central office, and the matter has been left to a committee, with instructions to report at the next meeting of the Council. But the discussion relative to any amalgamation became somewhat bitter. For example, Mr. Le Foyer frankly complained that the International Peace Bureau is in a "momentous crisis"; that its officers are without vision, initiative, activity, generosity; that there is no leadership; that the great demand is for a successor to the lamented Gobat; that the Peace Bureau must be reorganized. The "crisis" to which Mr. Le Foyer referred he attributes not only to these conditions which he believes exist, but the more especially to the proposal that the General Secretary of the Bureau be made assistant secretary to the International Union of the Associations for the League of Nations, with headquarters in Brussels. He looked upon such a step as a practical amalgamation of the peace societies with the Union of the Associations for the League of Nations, and hence, in fact, as the abolition of the peace societies. He expressed the view that the fusion of the Berne Bureau with the Brussels Union would, therefore, be a catastrophe for the peace movement—indeed, its extinction.

It may here be added that important officials at the Luxembourg Conference frankly confessed that the International Peace Bureau at Berne could not continue. But Mr. Le Foyer argued that the Peace Bureau should continue its task; that its officials have no right to consent to its abdication or suicide. Mr. Le Foyer said:

May we permit a fusion of the peace societies and of the associations for the League of Nations? May we permit an amalgamation of the Berne Bureau and of the General Secretary's office at Brussels? No! No! It is impossible. Why? For two reasons. First, because the peace societies have their mission and they must not forsake it. They existed before the war and the war should not be permitted to destroy them. Some of them date back thirty, fifty, one hundred years and more. Nobody has the right, under the pretense of transformation, to destroy so ancient a movement, for such would be a crime. The League of Nations is a part of our program, but it is only a part. We must not sacrifice the whole to a part. We must not end our mission because the Treaty of Versailles has constituted a League of Nations the faults of which are as well known as its merits. The Hague conferences have been choked by the Treaty of Versailles as by the hostilities of war. There is a possibility that the governments will destroy tomorrow their new work, this League of Nations, to which they have given so precarious a life. . . . The movement in favor of the organization of peace cannot be subordinated to the successive and pitiful creations of the governments. . . . We must not confine ourselves to the League of Nations, nor must we be blended in it. Second, the associations for the League of Nations are quasi-official groups organized more or less by the men in power. They are subsidized by the governments and are often composed of men whose feelings are those of jingoes, partisans of imperialism. . . . The peace societies have never stood up systematically against governments and must not begin to do so now. They have, however, always refused to yield to governments. They have preferred to accept poverty in order that they might keep their independence. . . . We must not abandon our independence. If we do, we betray our ideal. It would be a serious mistake to permit the General Secretary, M. Golay, to be assistant secretary at Geneva and subordinate to the General Secretaryship at Brussels. . . . The Berne Bureau will live if it remains faithful to its ideal and wishes to live. Long live the Berne Bureau!

Mr. Le Foyer's argument convinced the majority of the delegates and the Berne Bureau will continue its independent existence.

The most effective work of the Conference, as is usual in such conferences, took place in the meetings of the various committees and of the Council.

The members of the Council in attendance upon the meetings were: M. M. La Fontaine, L. Quidde, Louis Favre, Dr. Heilberg, Niels Peterson, Dr. Nilsen, Ed. de Neufville, Carl Lindhagen, H. von Gerlach, F. E. Pollard, Arthur Deerin Call, the Rev. H. Dunnico, Lucien Le Foyer, Emile Arnaud. Members absent but represented by proxies were Dr. Häberlin, by M. Quartier-la-Tente; Conseiller d'Etat, Neuchâtel; M. Magalhaes Lima, by M. Golay, Secretary General of the Bureau at Berne; M. Gaston Moch, by Colonel Lamouche. Members sending their regrets were: M. M. Giretti, M. van der Mandere, Dr. Bucher-Heller, Th. Ruysen, Ch. Richet, Mad. Petersen-Norup.

M. Rodolphe Goldscheid, President of the Austrian Peace Society, was nominated to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Alfred Fried. The Polish Peace Society nominated as its representative upon the Council its president, Dr. J. Polak.

Dr. G. Bovet, president of the Permanent Committee, reported at length with reference to the Bureau's accounts for 1920 and the budget for 1921. The Council voted to direct the Secretary General of the Bureau to organize such relations between the Bureau and the League of Nations, including the International Labor Bureau, as may be necessary to keep the various associations connected with the Bureau informed as to the works of the League of Nations and to co-operate as efficiently as possible in the change and perfection of that organization. The place of meeting for the next Congress was left for decision to the Council. The net results of all the conferences are set forth in the resolutions.

The Resolutions

(Translated from Official French Text for the Advocate of Peace)

COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Chairman, M. E. Arnaud, Paris

I. The establishment of the rules of law between nations ought to lead promptly to the abolition of the right to resort to war.

In order to achieve this result, it is indispensable that, in case of a break-down of friendly conciliation or of the failure of mediation, or of an agreement upon the constitution of an arbitral jurisdiction for the solution of a conflict, the Permanent Court of International Justice should be given jurisdiction in such a controversy and charged with the duty of reaching a definite and peaceful solution.

It is necessary, furthermore, that the principles of law, upon which must be based the decisions of the International Court, should be formulated, and that a public international code should be drawn and submitted for the approbation of the nations.

The absence of these two elements, obligatory jurisdiction and the codification of the principles of public international law, explains the lack of enthusiasm among the peoples

for the establishment of an international court of justice and the delay in the ratification of the convention providing for its creation.

The Congress of Luxemburg calls the attention of the next Assembly of the League of Nations to these matters of the first importance, and points out to the Secretary-General of the League the necessity of preparing without delay studies and documents to be put at the disposition of the Assembly with the view to the solution of these questions.

II. The Congress of Luxemburg insists upon the necessity of carrying on in each country an intensive propaganda for the purpose of giving to the Society of Nations and to its organs a character as democratic as possible, with the view that the League may approach as soon as possible unto a League of the Peoples. It recommends again the election of delegates to the Assembly by the most democratic and popular method employed within each country.

III. The Congress of Luxemburg calls attention to the principles initiated by the Assembly held in Bale, May 24, 1920, and to the necessity of proclaiming them at the very head of the Covenant of the League of Nations as fundamental principles upon which that League must rest and which ought to inspire all those who are called to collaborate in its work.

The Congress points out in particular that it is of great importance to proclaim and apply "the inalienable and indestructible right of peoples to dispose freely of themselves" as international law, which grants each of them the privilege of freely choosing its political and social order without any outside intervention; and, in consequence, there is a strict obligation upon the part of the States to consider as protégés, under this principle, the national minorities existing within their territory—an obligation sanctioned, among others, by the protocols signed at Saint Germain in 1919. This protection is a restraint upon a number of injustices born of recent treaties or maintained by such treaties—treaties which, from the point of view of the small conquered nations, have not taken into account sufficiently the rights of peoples. It would be quite unjust that the onerous penalties imposed upon the small conquered peoples should be enforced, while those a little more numerous, a little more favorably situated, should escape.

As a guarantee of this protection, the Congress demands that there be given to national minorities the ability to appeal to a national tribunal, and that not only according to the procedure prescribed by sovereign States, but upon the legitimate initiative of interested parties themselves.

IV. The Congress pleads for the abolition of the death penalty, and demands that in each nation the necessary modifications be effected both in the penal and military codes of law.

V. Without wishing to abridge the liberty of the press, the Congress demands that the League of Nations organize, particularly by the international recognition of the right to reply, the repression of public lies through the columns of the press or of public gatherings, especially where such is calculated to arouse hatred between peoples.

VI. "The Congress recalls that the political relations of nations, in order to be normal and not to end periodically in catastrophes, ought to be ordered on the same principles of elementary morals that rule in all countries the normal relations between individuals. It recalls what experience

teaches, that it is necessary to seek the right in order to find the useful, and that if a transgression of moral rules is able to appear sometimes favorable to the particular and immediate interests, it is in reality the observation of these rules which only assures the safeguard of superior and permanent interests."

VII. The Congress demands that the League of Nations be completed as soon as possible by the admission of States which as yet are outside, to the end that it may acquire that universal character which is essential for the work which it ought to accomplish.

VIII. "It is held that the development of intellectual relations between the peoples is at least as necessary as that of economic relations. It is held that the existence of more than four hundred international groups of every nature, of which the more important are federated in a world union, justifies the proposal to set up a permanent organization of intellectual workers similar to that which has already been created for manual and hygienic workers. Since the program of such an organization, which attempts to endow the world with a union of institutions having for their object to co-ordinate and to support all that humanity has produced in the domain of thought, has already received the moral support of a number of members of the League of Nations, the Congress begs leave to press upon the next Assembly of the delegates to be convened in Geneva that they take the measures necessary in order to assure intellectual workers an organization commensurate with the rôle which they are called upon to play in the reconstruction of the world."

IX. "The Congress, reiterating its formal protestations against secret diplomatic treaties, takes upon itself to recommend the nullification, under international law, of the treaties which have not been submitted to a public parliamentary discussion or definitely approved by a referendum to the interested peoples."

X. "The Council, taking into consideration the proposition which has been submitted to it with reference to a universal calendar as a means of promoting peace between the peoples, directs the bureau to bring together the documents for such a study in view of the next Congress."

COMMISSION FOR DISARMAMENT

Chairman, M. Helmut von Gerlach, Berlin

The Congress applauds the conference for disarmament which, upon the initiative of President Harding, is to meet at Washington in November; but, even in case of its success, the conference will be able to lead only to a partial disarmament of a limited number of the peoples. Unquestionably, it is in the interest of all peoples to arrive at a complete disarmament. This complete disarmament will be accomplished only by a League of Nations including all civilized peoples. The Congress considers general disarmament as the most urgent duty of the League of Nations. The individual States ought to be permitted to maintain only police forces upon the earth and upon the sea in a limited number and recruited only upon the voluntary principle. It is urgent, first, that, pending the decisions of the conference at Washington, all naval construction should be suspended; and, second, that as a first step toward disarmament upon land, the armies of other powers should be reduced at least to the number permitted to Germany by

the Treaty of Versailles, and that conscription should, by the same token, be abolished.

COMMISSION FOR PROPAGANDA

Chairman, M. Ed. Quartier-la-Tente, Conseiller d'Etat,
Neuchatel

The Committee on Propaganda proposes to the Congress of 1921, at Luxemburg, the confirmation of all propaganda recommendations passed heretofore by the Peace Congress and recommends them to the attention of the peace societies: propaganda for all forms of associations, for the women, for the press, for public conferences, including the use of posters, postal cards, and the celebration of important anniversaries, such as the 18th of May, that of the opening of the League of Nations, etc. But, furthermore, the Congress of Luxemburg formulates also the following recommendations:

It must be granted that the war has produced a prejudice against all work for peace, and that the history of the peace movement has been dropped from view. The Congress, therefore, proposes to advertise the existence and activity of the *Bureau International de la Paix* at Berne, by publishing in all possible languages a display brochure quite brief but clear. This brochure ought to announce that the bureau pursues its activities, and that it solicits the effective collaboration of all the friends of peace.

The Congress believes it necessary that the *Bureau International de la Paix* name in each country a representative charged to promote the organization of peace working groups and to labor to support the enterprise by every possible means. The list of representatives ought to be published regularly.

The Congress believes that the publication of the peace organ known as "*Le Mouvement Pacifiste*" ought to be more frequent, at least monthly, at least as voluminous as now, and in a form to maintain a permanent interest among the peace workers in favor of the ideas which it upholds and defends.

The Congress proposes to the *Bureau International de la Paix* to study the various means of bringing about a better union between all the members of the associations and to bring about a more desirable cohesion between all peace working groups within the various countries.

The Congress insists especially upon the fact that it is necessary, if the propaganda and peace work is to have an effective influence upon the acts of governments and upon the evolution of the League of Nations, to call for the co-operation of all of the active associations and, in general, of all workers throughout the world.

COMMISSION FOR EDUCATION

Chairman, M. Louis Favre, Geneva

FORMATION OF A TEACHING CORPS

The twenty-first Peace Congress, meeting at Luxemburg the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th of August, 1921, recalling the recommendations passed by preceding peace congresses, recommendations relating especially to the question of peace instruction throughout the world, submits the following recommendations:

(1) Organized effort by peace working groups and persons close to the heads of normal schools with the view of incor-

porating in all instruction a spirit conforming to the principles of international peace.

(2) The inauguration of prize contests upon subjects relative to international peace, the activities of peace workers, their accomplishments, the Society of Nations, and to what is and what ought to be.

(3) The exchange of young teachers between the various countries.

PROPAGANDA AMONG THE YOUNG

(1) The change of programs and manuals of instruction with the view of eliminating all that is calculated to arouse hatred, chauvinism, and narrow nationalism, as well as false conceptions of heroism. The Congress in particular calls to the attention of school authorities the following: (a) That in the schools throughout the world there should be given to the children of both sexes an intellectual and moral culture which shall be truly humane, devised with the view of developing individuals, exalting the beauty of labor in all its forms, setting forth the effective solidarity which exists between nations, inculcating fraternity between all peoples, whatever be their race or their color, and that in order to perfect this international education among the young there be created in each country a service for the promotion, under a system of exchanges, of the residence of students in foreign countries. (b) That a rational physical culture having in view no military end should be given to the young of both sexes in all countries of the world.

(2) The action on the part of parents and families with the view of creating among the young an atmosphere of moral sanity and of the peace spirit.

The Twenty-first Peace Congress recalls that the Congress of Paris in 1889, of Hamburg in 1897, of Glasgow in 1901, of Boston in 1904, of Munich in 1907, adopted resolutions relative to a common language, and declares itself favorable to the adoption of a universal alphabet and a universal language, and directs the Berne Bureau to help to promote the practical solution of these two questions.

COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Chairman, Senator H. La Fontaine, Belgium

I. With the view of obviating the tariff controversies which have been in the past one of the most productive causes of war, the Congress is of the opinion, first, that it is necessary to do away with all customs barriers of every kind, and, further, that it is essential to convert all customs charges of every kind into excise duties, and that in all circumstances it is essential to secure for all nations equal commercial conditions.

II. Whereas the war has profoundly affected the economic situation of all the States of Europe; whereas some, because their exchange is too high, are not able to export, and others, because their exchange is too low, are not able to import; whereas the consequences of this lack of equilibrium are destruction, debts, and miseries which are increasing daily; whereas all, victors and vanquished, former belligerents as well as former neutrals, have the same interest in a more equitable allocation of the expenses of the war, which is the only means of arriving at a sane adjustment of the state of exchange and of a re-establishment of normal relations between production and consumption, the Congress demands the creation of an international financial institute (a Finan-

cial Society of Nations) of an official character, which shall establish a world loan guaranteed by all the States and which shall undertake all other necessary financial and economic measures for the purpose of reviving the economic life of the world and of coming to the aid of those States which are going down under the weight of their war debts.

III. Whereas the variety of monetary systems is one serious cause of trouble in commercial transactions; whereas the establishment of a universal monetary system would be a symbol of the unity of mankind; whereas the actual circumstances which have produced in the world the preponderance of paper money demand the adoption of a different system of exchange, with money standards of an international character, the Congress invites the financial and economic commissions of the League of Nations to give to the monetary problems thus set forth a solution as soon as possible.

IV. The Congress renews its resolutions, adopted in 1849 and 1891, relative to the unification of weights and measures. It insists upon the utility of such unification from the point of view of industrial and commercial relations, which would now be especially promoted by such a reform.

V. The Congress regrets that the Universal Postal Union in its session at Madrid did not see its way clear to establish the postal rates as they were before the war. It expresses the wish that the nations will return as rapidly as possible to the former rates. It has been elsewhere shown that the increases have not resulted in any appreciable increase of receipts, but rather have constituted a real obstacle to the economic and intellectual relations, and that they have caused a general impoverishment. It expresses the hope that the matter of postal tariffs may soon be brought up for revision, and that there will be adopted uniform international rates as low as possible.

COMMISSION ON ACTUALITIES

Chairman, M. L. Quidde, Munich

I. *The Famine in Russia.*—The Peace Congress, noting with sorrow the famine in Russia and the misery of children in Austria and of other victims of the war, considers that it is the duty of international good will (1) promptly to relieve these populations without any attempt to influence political, religious, national, or social class propaganda; (2) to create a permanent international organization for emergency relief.

II. *The Right of Self-determination in Lithuania.*—The Congress demands of the League of Nations that the self-determination of populations living in Lithuania ought to be recognized in law as a fact and realized as soon as possible.

III. *Upper Silesia.*—The Congress, (1) considering that the plebiscite is the established method of ascertaining the will of the people under law, the people having the right to dispose freely of themselves, expresses its gratification that the population of Upper Silesia has been called thus to decide as to their nationality, and notes with satisfaction that the electoral operations have been effectively and most successfully accomplished; (2) considering that under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles "the results of the vote shall be determined by communes," and that, in fact, majorities vary according to localities, the Congress believes that a general solution cannot thus be adopted, and that, therefore, the solution by intervention ought to be carried on, if it can be found reasonable and possible, according to the vote by region or by commune; (3) considering that the Treaty of Versailles sets forth that it ought to be held at

the time according to "the wish of the inhabitants" and according to "the geographic and economic situation of localities," the Congress believes that the primary consideration is the wish, or rather the will, of the populations, the carrying out of which ought to be with only a minimum sacrifice of those economic and geographic considerations which, though often legitimate, likewise too often hide political and mental reservations and capitalist interests; (4) finally, the Congress demands that the accompanying solution should be promptly adopted, for it recalls that an economic régime of free circulation would lessen the inconvenience that any solution would be able to provide, and addresses a pressing appeal to the inhabitants of Upper Silesia, as to the peoples of Germany and Poland, that intervention be sincerely accepted as the right method of solution, and that all violence be omitted. The Congress, in the presence of the decision of the Supreme Council, which returns to the Council of the League of Nations for decision of the question of Upper Silesia, refers this resolution to the careful attention of the League of Nations.

IV. *The Greco-Turkish War.*—The Congress protests against the war which is spreading fire and bloodshed again throughout a portion of Asiatic Turkey. It recalls that the Supreme Council in its session at London provided for the establishment of a commission of examination close to the interests of the populations; it deplores the Greek refusal to accept this pacific solution and condemns the Greek recourse to arms under the pretext of a previous mandate of the Powers, since revoked by them; it protests against the neutral attitude of the Supreme Council and expresses the view that it was its duty to require the immediate cessation of military operations; and that now it belongs to the League of Nations—the Council, the Assembly, or the Court of International Justice—to determine the law and to assure the peace.

V. *The Responsibilities of the War.*—The Congress recalls the resolution of September, 1919, by which the Council of the Bureau at Berne invited the governments to examine by an international neutral commission, invested with all the necessary powers, the responsibilities relative to the violence of the war, its prolongation, and the excesses committed in the course of the conflict. The passionate debates which actually accompanied this in the different countries, notably on the question of the responsibilities of the war, threatens to injure considerably the moral and political accord of peoples. It is necessary to put an end to it. For this purpose the Congress demands the appointment of an international committee with unquestionable authority and perfect impartiality, at the disposition of which ought to be put all official and other documents which will enable them fully to accomplish their mission. Of course, all the documents furnished the commission ought to be published.

VI. The reparations ought to cause the abandonment of supplementary sanctions. The Congress notes with the profoundest satisfaction the solemn declaration made by the German Chancellor, to the effect that Germany ought scrupulously and courageously to execute the obligations imposed upon her in order to secure the reparation of the destructions and devastations resulting from the war. The Congress hopes that, in her interest and in the interest of general peace, the entire German people, more clearly than in the past, shall approve these declarations and support only a conscientious government, a government clearly resolved as at present, voicing real and not equivocal proofs

of the German will. The Congress sincerely hopes that the Allies in their turn may terminate at once the application of supplementary sanctions not provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, witnessing thus their support of justice and their will for peace and greatly facilitating the rôle of the men to whom in Germany are given the mission of upholding the law and of combating the military and warlike plots.

VII. *The Question of Albania.*—The Congress expresses its regret that the question of the frontiers of Albania, stirred up by Greece and the State of Serbo-Croate-Slovène, has been referred to the Supreme Council and not to the League of Nations. In any event, it expresses the hope that, conforming to the rights of peoples and to the application of article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the frontiers of Albania, such as have been fixed by the decisions of the great powers in 1913, should be respected and definitely guaranteed.

VIII. *The Economic Clauses of the Treaties of Saint Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon.*—The Congress expresses the hope that in the execution of the economic clauses of the treaties of Saint Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon there shall be taken into consideration, in a spirit of good will and of equity, the economic situation of the interested countries—Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary—to the end that these countries may not be ruined, but, on the contrary, that it may be possible for them to revive, as they have the will so to do, through their labors and peaceful pursuits.

THE BRITISH PEACE SOCIETY'S CENTENARY

From *The Herald of Peace*, organ of the British Peace Society, in the September issue, we obtain the speeches delivered at the centenary exercises of the ancient society, held in London and Birmingham some weeks ago. Throughout the speeches runs a note of realism, but this note seems rarely to dampen the ardor for peace, or the militant faith of the speakers, who included Lord Parmoor, the president of the society; Lord Hugh Cecil; the Very Reverend the Dean of St. Paul's; Senator Henri La Fontaine, of Belgium; Professor Dresselhuys, leader of the Liberal Party in the Dutch Parliament; J. R. Clynes, and the Rev. Dr. Jay T. Stocking, who represented the American Peace Society. Two meetings were held in London, one in the Guildhall and the other in Central Hall.

In his opening address before the Guildhall meeting, Lord Parmoor said:

This afternoon we are celebrating in this historic hall the centenary of the Peace Society. On this same day 105 years ago the Peace Society was established. The five years are accounted for because the centenary had to be postponed until the war period was over. To some people the name of a peace society may appear something of a mockery, having regard to the international outlook; but I draw a more cheering and more cheerful conclusion. I think it may certainly be said that it is hardly possible to imagine any conditions under which an appeal should be more readily listened to on behalf of this ancient and honorable society, or when there could be a more urgent necessity to endeavor to teach and press home the principles for which this society stands and for which it has stood firm for over a century of time.

The society, as you know, started on the morrow of the Napoleonic wars; the centenary of our celebration fell on

the morrow of the great World War, which broke out in the summer of 1914. Those who started this society were under a feeling of dismay and horror at the desolation and ruin which the Napoleonic campaigns had brought to large tracts in Europe. During the intervening century since that date there have been changes of far-reaching importance in the social and industrial organization of European society, but these changes have rendered civilization more sensitive to the evils of war, especially of war between armed nations equipped with the fearful weapons which science has invented for the purposes of death and mutilation. This sensitiveness of modern conditions is a factor which no thoughtful person can afford to disregard. It is not enough that the majority, if it is a majority, of mankind are urgently desirous to ensure a permanent world peace and to erect effective barriers against the risk of future warfare. They must go further and determine to direct their efforts in a right direction, not only to cry peace, but to appreciate and combat the strength of the forces which make for war.

I may state quite shortly on this occasion what I understand to be the view and principles of this society. The success or failure of peace efforts does not mainly depend on the logical symmetry of peace treaties, or the careful elaboration of checks and counter-checks by skilled diplomatists. These means may be necessary, but they do not touch matters of fundamental principle. The real problem is one of character and morality. If Christian civilization is to survive, it must be reinforced and practiced by the acceptance of Christian ethics as Christ taught them, and consecrated by the example of His life. He taught us that there would be no real peace in the world so long as the passions and dispositions of men were such as to lead mankind to war and violence, and that we wanted the ethics for real peace—that we wanted the ethics of a new spiritual life founded upon a new spiritual effort. There is no escape, in my opinion, from the conclusion that so long as there is a failure in the moral outlook of mankind, so long will there be failure in right action and right conduct. This is no reason for hopelessness or despondency, but rather for fresh effort and renewed inspiration. If we investigate the true nature of the increasing strains and burdens which accompany advancing civilization, we shall find that they are largely to be found in the difficulty of adjusting the mutual services which are urgently required to secure a sufficiency of good will and co-operation, both in our national life and in our international intercourse.

We have to ask ourselves, quite directly and without leaving any loophole for compromise, whether we are prepared to substitute the idea of brotherhood for the idea of dominance and the duty of charity to others in place of the assertion of right for ourselves. In my opinion, the whole future of humanity depends on the answers to these questions. Unless the answer is in the affirmative, I see no prospect of settling the sectional disputes which discount our national solidarity, or the racial disputes which threaten the permanency of international peace. The reality of the perils which beset progressive civilization at the present time needs no emphasis. The war is over, but as spring is said to linger in the lap of winter, so unfortunately peace lingers on the lap of outrage and violence. There are danger spots in many places, and it cannot be said that racial animosities, which have been the curse of Europe over centuries of time, have been allayed or rendered less acute at the present time.

The expectation that the conclusion of war would herald in an era of peace and general international co-operation has not so far been realized. There are, however, bright spots on the horizon. The cause of peace might, I think, be immediately furthered if we—or, rather, if America and ourselves—could agree on the adoption of the general principle of disarmament and by the abolition of all forms of military conscription. It is not only that the expenditure on armaments loads the scales against retaining the capital resources necessary to provide for economic restoration, but that there is a withdrawal of a large number of persons from the field of productive labor. Then, too, we may hope—and this, too, should be regulated in a special manner between America and ourselves—then, too, we may hope for the formation of